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782 when gardens are cleared, planted, and harvested and the good will of the souls of their previous cultivators must be solicited, and when sacred lineage hearths (*tae ara*) are "fed" at the time of harvesting the new corn crop. At such times it is the men who contribute the flesh food and who officiate. Women contribute rice or corn, which is supplementary in importance but not in bulk.

957 If an Atimelang man plays with gusto the financial role his culture assigns him, the major part of his time will be taken up with the manipulation of these three types of investments. Concepts of profit, interest, credit, and reciprocity are all present, and since currencies are not strictly standardized in value sequences and in commensurability, there is ample play in the system for endless bargaining. In addition, debts are [824] rarely paid except under the pressure of dunning. It is quite evident that a man in the financial swim will have to devote most of his time to negotiations.

842 The elaborate and interesting economic system of Atimelang—as well as most of the other aspects of the culture briefly described in this chapter—will be discussed again and in more detail in the course of this volume, but for the moment the following summary will do. Subsistence economy is in the hands of the women and gives them real power and status, which are not stressed in the ideological system. The men are primarily responsible for financial dealings, which are the honorific occupation of the society. The divorce between subsistence and finance is not so complete as the ownership of property on a sex basis would indicate, nor is labor in either of these realms so divorced in practice as it is in theory. Many men are passionate horticulturalists and many women have financial skills. No onus is attached to preoccupation with the economic function of the other sex; in fact, it is rather admired as a supplementary skill.

771 In the realm of religion sacrifice is the chief form of worship. Using the term *worship* in this sense may be misleading because it gives a connotation of sacredness and awe that does not exist. Prayer is to all intents and purposes nonexistent; the nearest approach to it is a rare type of invocation (*ahang*). Divination in five or six major forms is used frequently.

776 All individuals have personal familiars that they have inherited from 787 parents and grandparents or have acquired themselves through some [829] visionary experience. The inheritance of these personal familiars is not rigorous or exclusively in the patrilineal line, so that new ones are constantly being imported by women who marry into the Five Villages. The prevalence of fevers, especially malaria, which is endemic, may

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account for some of the "visions" leading to individual acquisition of personal spirits. These spirits are of many different types. Lolos and Tanong are the commonest inspirational familiars of seers. Ia-wari (literally means moon-sun, also called sinsis) are inherited and are usually nonpermissional. They serve in a variety of "good fortune" capacities. Nats are primarily wealth-bringing spirits and are associated with the sea, frequently manifesting themselves as fish, crabs, crayfish, and eels. One person's familiar may be another person's evil spirit (*hari*, a generic term).

The whole countryside is populated with *genii loci* whose good or evil influence depends upon the personal relationship established with them. They are all reasonably well known within a radius of two to four miles and are called by personal human names, usually paired. These couples are either siblings or spouses. They may be represented by carvings all of one type, a crocodile-like figure called nago in Malay. These carvings may be erected on a pole, placed on a platform-like altar, or kept in the loft of a small shed.

There are also "Good Beings" (*nats hawg*, which literally means something good) associated with either the sea or the sky and envisaged in human form. Persons who have disappeared mysteriously or, in rare instances, children who have been lost may be invested with the qualities of Good Beings. The bulk of what the Azimtsangir considers his mythology deals with such supernaturals, who are sometimes thought to be lineage ancestors. There are many contemporary anecdotes of prophets who predicted the imminent advent of Good Beings. The disappearance of disease and of death and the financial obligations accompanying it are usually part of such prophecies. This whole concept will undoubtedly become the center of revivalistic cults when Alorese culture crumbles as it inevitably will under the impact of foreign colonization.

There is also the village guardian spirit (*sisiwat*), a being whose attributes are vague and confused but who is connected somehow with the dark area in the Milky Way and whose presence and good will insure crops and wealth for the village. This spirit is often equated with a vaguely conceived supreme being called Lahatala, which is probably a word of Mohammedan origin, and with the Christian God, called by the Malay term *Tuan Allah*. It is represented by a large crocodile-like carving similar to the smaller ones made for all kinds of personal familiars. The village guardian should receive sacrifices every year or two—at which times an expert is called to search him out where he lurks somewhere underground near a dance place and drag him to the carving where he is to be fed. The responsibility for this ceremony

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5.26 7.63 (*bafid*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as house posts. The difficulty of calling in reserves is further illustrated by the uncertainty surrounding the date set for a feast. The case of the tumukun's payoff death feast will show just how harassing such a situation can be.

The tumukun must have been pondering the event of a death feast for some weeks, but the first indication I had of his plans for it was on March 23, when a group of women gathered to hull rice. The next day [10] [7.11] he divined to discover the proper date, and the result of this divination set April 4 as the day of the feast. When April 4 arrived it was obvious that no feast was under way. I asked what had happened and was told there had been a two-day delay in order to give guests time to arrive. On April 14 the tumukun again divined for a propitious date, and the day was set for April 26. That night and the next day he had satellites [7.11 7.22] deliver thirty-nine invitations in the form of "memo tallies" to inform his debtors that gongs and mokos were to begin arriving as early as April 22. These memo tallies are strips of coconut leaves in one end of which a flat knot is tied; the other end is slit as many times as there are days before the feast. The guest is supposed to tear off one tab a day.

[7.01] Meanwhile the tumukun had been making gong- and moko-bringing magic every evening and morning. Since all these activities were quite open, no one could have been ignorant of his plans. April 26 came and went, however, but no guests arrived. The tumukun was very much ashamed and, characteristically, very angry. He complained to me of the situation when I was indiscreet enough to inquire about the cause of the delay, and he blusteringly threatened to carry litigations against his debtors to the radjah himself. He began once more a round of visits to his debtors scattered through about ten villages to berate them for their recalcitrance. I asked a neutral person if people were angry with the tumukun and was told that they were not, that such delays were customary.

On July 13 the tumukun again began morning and evening to beat gongs and mokos in order to draw in his wealth. A few dowry payments arrived during the last days of July. On July 28 he went to fetch the soul of his father-in-law, in whose honor the death feast was to be. [7.61] The father-in-law had been buried in the old Alurkowati village site twenty years before, and his soul had to be brought to the dance place in Atimelang, where his feast was to be given. The tumukun took this opportunity to berate his father-in-law's soul for its inactivity in spur- [7.13] ring debtors to make payments. The souls of those who are to be hon-

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inept when compared to the shamanism of even such marginal areas as California. In other words, despite local theory, I observed nothing that impressed me as real possessionalism.*

There were also in Atimelang certain individuals who had attacks of hyperactivity. One of these was mentioned in connection with obscenity on page 157. Another case was of a woman who began shouting and joking in a loud and apparently compulsive fashion and sometimes accompanied her conversation with a rhythmic jumping up and down. On occasions of this sort people said that their familiars had risen within them (*betimang bowin nirang*). This is the same phrase used in connection with seers. Such attacks usually provoke a good deal of amusement among younger people, but older ones are inclined to discourage any teasing or response that might prolong the attack.

Again from observation the attacks of hyperexcitability in these two women in no way suggested trance conditions. Accounts of people considered insane, which will be discussed later, gave no indication that they were in trance states. In other words, I very much doubt that deep trances occur except as rare individual aberrations. They are certainly not induced deliberately nor are they culturally prized. It is quite possible that real trances would be associated with the type of "death" that was thought to occur in delirium and coma, and such an association may have helped to check the introduction of such trances from other cultures. If such is the case, it would also serve to cut down the impressiveness, and therefore the potential power, of seers. Lastly, the danger of losing one's normal personality would seem to offer a possible explanation for the lack of interest shown by Atimelangers in intoxicants. The use of palm wine is known among the coastal peoples, and the requisite palm grows in the mountains; but the mountain peoples do not use it, or even indulge in palm wine during protracted visits to the coast.

It is also interesting that one case of possible suicide, a person who was obviously insane, revolved around this same theme of spirit possession and premature burial. I quote a detailed account for the light it throws on the subject.

The narration referred to an event that occurred about fifteen years ago and began with Fanseni's accidentally offending an evil spirit who lived near his maize field. Some two months later, when the maize was being carried back to his house for storage, signs of abnormality were first noted. Fanseni complained of a violent headache and refused to eat,

* A detailed study of the trance was not made. It is possible, of course, that seers were in a subtrance. By this I mean that conscious control is not lost, but that an emotional condition exists in which the person deliberately shuts out many external stimuli.

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although he gave his kinsmen a pig in payment for their help and as a final harvest feast. The next day he stayed in his house, and when his young nephews returned, among whom was Rilpada, he spoke to them in a garble of Malay and Abui, saying, "Respects, gentlemen; my children, come up. Are you happy or not? If you are happy, you may smoke up this whole tube of tobacco."

That night several male kin stayed to watch over him. In the course of the night Rilpada noticed that Fanseni in his sleep had taken off his loincloth and defecated. As Rilpada drew his father's attention to the act Fanseni awoke and shouted belligerently, "Who defecated? Ung! Who defecated? I deny these feces. Let us fight." Those present were badly frightened and shouted to the near-by villagers, "Don't be afraid. An evil spirit has risen in Fanseni, but do not be afraid." At this point two men came to lend the watchers assistance. As they approached they tried to frighten Fanseni by shooting arrows at the outer house wall but succeeded only in making him deny noisily that he was afraid. When the two men finally appeared in the doorway, they aimed an arrow directly at him. Fanseni at this point picked up a piece of firewood, held it against his crotch, then broke it in two, saying, "This is my penis. Give it to your children to eat. Perhaps they are crying of hunger." He then scattered the coals from the hearth about the room. Everyone was now assured that only an evil spirit was capable of such behavior, so Fanseni was securely lashed and left in the house. The others went below to spend the rest of the night. Fanseni slept but was aroused by Rilpada, who threw a stone at the house wall to tease him. Fanseni shouted that he knew Rilpada was guilty of the act — a fact, incidentally, that Rilpada brazenly denied. At this point Fanseni managed to burn through his lashings, so that he had to be bound more securely than ever.

In the morning as the others were roasting cassava, Fanseni pulled himself to the doorway and watched them. When asked if he were hungry he nodded his head in the affirmative. There was some debate about untying him to let him eat. The opposition said there was no use feeding an evil spirit; nevertheless, he was untied and offered a large piece of cassava, which he stuffed into his mouth all at once. This confirmed the suspicion that he was still possessed.

Then Fanseni said, "My father, Padalani, who is down below, calls. Let us go to him." Followed by the others, Fanseni slid down the trail on his buttocks, grasping a stick with which he swept the trail as he went. On the way, he interpreted the call of a bird as the voice of a guru, resident in Atimelang at the time. Also, he kept insisting that his

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158 dead father was calling him. He came to a big stone and pretended to
787 catch a rat under it. Then he broke off a piece of stick, held it near his
828 crotch, and offered it to one of his guardians for his hungry children.
The man who was the butt of this malice struck Fanseni's fingers
only to have him say, "Eh, that's fine." Also, on the way down the
slope Fanseni ate certain foods raw that are ordinarily cooked. A little
later, without showing any signs of discomfort, he ate a raw tuber
known to be extremely astringent.

158 Finally he reached his father's grave and there ordered the others to
787 dig his own grave just about two yards away. This they did. He then
828 gave them further orders, such as to fetch his shroud and eating plate
762 and to give his bow to a cousin. All these errands he assigned one at a
time in order to have people run back and forth as much as possible.
Finally he adjusted his shroud and got into the grave. He got out again,
however, complaining that a stone in it made him uncomfortable and
asking to have it removed. He got in once more and then asked to have
his food plate placed next to his body under the shroud. One of the
guardians asked, "Are you finished?" Fanseni answered, "I am through,
so cover me up." People began shoving in the earth and Fanseni spoke
for the last time, saying, "Now I am glad. Just now it was bad. That
must not be. Now it is good."

When the earth completely covered his body, Fanseni moved. In a
panic the burriers fetched two large stones and hastily dropped them
on him before they finished filling in the grave. The whole event nat-
urally frightened the villagers badly. For several nights they stopped
[775] up every nook and cranny of their houses to prevent Fanseni's spirit
from entering and during the day frequently inspected his grave to
make sure it was still undisturbed.

158 In the relative mildness of aggression and in the openly suicidal qual-
ity this case differs from three other cases of recognized insanity. It
resembles the other cases in its obscenity. The suicidal quality in all
[689] these four cases must be recognized, however, since an uncontrollably
violent person is apt to be killed. One woman, Matingmale, was actu-
ally killed by one of the victims of her destructiveness; another was
spared only because of the intercession of her kin. The fourth case, a
[762] man, danced challenge in front of the government soldiers who came
to avenge the murder of the radjah in 1918. Exposing one's body to
bullets with only a carabao shield as protection can be interpreted only
as suicidal in intent.

[787 828] All four of these instances were thought to be cases of spirit posses-
sion. If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal-

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ining aggression is correct, and if, on the other hand, society offers means, such as wealth, to externalize aggression, self-inflicted death is not likely to be a highly developed personality trend. This alone might explain the absence of institutionalized suicide. In addition, when death may result from extranormal personality states, such as occur in delirium, coma, and insanity, it becomes clear why spirit possession is an evil and why shamanistic trances and intoxication have not been selected for social emphasis.

INSANITY

Before concluding with ideas of burial and death, it may be appropriate to develop somewhat parenthetically such other data as are available on insanity. What precisely constitutes insanity in the mind of the Atimelanger is as hard to define as it is among ourselves. The history of a "crazy" woman was given on page 107ff., and it will be recalled that essentially the charge was one of prostitution. Lakamau the Simpleton was not called crazy. There was one woman, usually fairly quiet, who seemed to have hallucinations and whose chief claim to peculiarity in the minds of local people was that she would run off alone and spend the nights hidden in the fields rather than return to the house. She was considered possessed of a spirit. She and the first woman were the only two recognized by the community as insane (*lira*). In addition there were many people whose "spirits would rise in them," which meant that they had occasional attacks of hyperexcitability and about whom one said, "They are crazy," using the term in the same loose and often good-natured fashion in which we use it.

Also available were anecdotes about four other insane people no longer living. The case of Faroeni has been quoted. The other three cases were all characterized by greater destructive vigor; all were considered spirit-possessed and their destructive attacks seem to have broken out suddenly. For instance, Matingmale had worked quietly all day weeding her sister's fields. That night she suddenly began to beat her brother-in-law. She ran off, killed pigs and chickens, broke off corn, reached into a pregnant pig and pulled out the unborn young, and made obscene advances to men. People tied her up, but she broke away and continued her destructive activities. People shot her in the shoulder, but she went on, ignoring the arrow still stuck in her flesh. She tossed a small child in the air in play and continued to kill pigs and generally frighten people. She was finally bound securely.

Her father sacrificed to the spirit supposedly possessing her, and she was normal for about two months. Then she had another outburst in which she held her child upside down by its legs from the door hatch.

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151 She broke off corn, got into a pigpen and ate refuse with the animals,
187 and stole rice cones from a feast. Periods of excitability alternated with
328 periods of calm. In her last attack she went to other villages and continued her peculiar behavior. They tied her hands and sent her home, but she spent the whole night shouting and singing on the trail. The next morning she once more made sexual advances to an older man who threatened to kill her if her father did not fetch her. This sort of thing went on for four years, and the woman was finally killed while thieving in a garden. These attacks first appeared when she was about thirty-five, a year after the death of her husband. In her normal moments it was reported that she would hold her children in her arms and weep, saying, "This madness gives me much trouble."

The second woman's history and behavior are comparable. Lonmaima's attacks began by her open thieving of food when she was still an unmarried girl. She would steal eggs and sit eating them publicly. She would enter houses and snatch food from under people's eyes. At feasts she ran off with calabash serving plates full of meat. Despite these early outbursts she married and raised a family, during which time she appeared normal. Her difficulties returned when her children were grown. Her most characteristic tricks were grabbing up children and running off with them, and attacking people indiscriminately with clubs or stones. She lived with her married children. On occasion when they gave her food, she would throw it away and return her dish broken or filled with feces. She continued in this fashion until she was quite old. Finally, as an old woman, she was chased away from a field in which she had been destroying corn. As she ran she fell over a cliff and was killed. For years apparently she had had recurrences of her manic attacks during which people had threatened her with death or restrained her with bonds.

The third reported case of insanity was that of Mahommale. His first outbreak was reported to have occurred when he was a middle-aged man. He arrived in a neighboring village, singing at the top of his lungs, and, on reaching the dance place, he shouted challenge, brandished his sword, and shot arrows at people. He kept shouting that he was crazy. He annoyed the inhabitants of two or three villages in this fashion, and when people threatened to kill him and sell his head, he dared them to proceed. In addition to this type of aggressive behavior he also tried quite openly to catch young women and rape them. Whenever he was finally caught and bound, he would calm down after a time and seem very depressed. He apparently had long periods of lucidity during which he carried on his affairs in a normal and successful fashion. In his

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manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers; so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to innovations.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in molcas, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to punish the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

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mouth instead of giving food may just possibly be considered fantasies centering on infantile feeding experiences.

GOOD BEINGS

The motif of revivification by spilling food on a corpse is poorly developed in these speculations by Rilpeda. It is, however, one of the most persistent myth motifs, especially in myths dealing with Good Beings (*gala kang*; literally, something good). They inhabit six villages above in the sky or below in the sea. There seems to be no relation between their place of residence and the abodes of the dead. Around these beings are woven the most numerous and elaborate myths and they are an ever-present reality. The murder of the radjah in 1918 was precipitated by his followers' disrespectful treatment of a woman who had established herself in the minds of her fellow villagers as a Good Being.

In 1919 Malelaka had the Five Villages at a high pitch of excitement over his predictions of the imminent arrival of these supernaturals. In one day two small guesthouses were erected, an area was cleared and fenced, and in addition two stone basins were made into which would flow upon the arrival of the Good Beings two miraculous streams. In one the old could bathe and be rejuvenated; in the other, people would be healed of their illnesses. Death would disappear and death feasts were to be discontinued. Meanwhile people were to abstain from such foods as eels, crayfish, crabs, and fish. For some six recent prophets on whom there is material these ideas remain fairly constant. The interesting thing about the ideas are the fantasies they express—the desires to escape death, illness, and death feasts. The conflicts that this last prophecy created in Malelaka are reflected in his autobiography, which was given at the time when his Good Being speculations were once more active.

That such wishful thinking was not limited to Malelaka and his fellow prophets is evinced by the cooperation they received in preparing for these supernaturals. People from many surrounding villages were sufficiently credulous to bring their sick to the expected advent. There was in fact so much excited interest that the government sent up the full garrison of troops to destroy the structures and arrest Malelaka. This interference plus the disastrous war of 1918 led to the growth of a good deal of scepticism, and the tentative Good Being talk current in 1938 and 1939 was meeting with much incredulity. The inclination to abandon what has been a failure seems to me a consistent part of the nonfanatical and realistic temperament of Atimelangers. They are fun

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night. This procedure was facilitated by the local habit of remembering and discussing dreams. However, a drawback was that I seldom heard the first version. Informants were often asked to interpret their dreams, but this was of little value for individual psychology, since there is a partially standardized system of dream interpretation in the culture. An attempt to get associations with significant words in the dream met with no great success. Most significant, perhaps, are the memories or anecdotes related immediately after the dream.

It was necessary to ask questions and to do a good deal of directing in the interviews. The degree to which I interfered is indicated by the parenthetical inclusion of the content of my questions, or, where that is obvious from the responses, by the word *Question* in brackets. Leading, as opposed to clarifying, questions were asked only when the informant seemed to be at a loss to continue. This was particularly true toward the end of a series of interviews, when the informant had begun to run down and had failed to mention certain obvious topics. A case in point is Tilapada's omission of material concerning her children. The insertion of ages where they occur is the result of inquiry rather than spontaneously given information. Usually the informant named a child and said, "When I was like So-and-so." I would then approximate the age. These estimates are naturally unreliable but they are probably better than nothing.

SUBJECTS OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Name	*Sex*	*Approximate Age*	*Number of Sessions*	*Sibling Position*
Mangwa the Genealogist	Male	45	15	Second of nine children
Rilpada the Seer	Male	35	18	Third of five children
Malelaka the Prophet	Male	45	10	First of six children and six half brothers and sisters
Fanma the Interpreter	Male	25	11+	Youngest of three children
Tilapada	Female	45	19	Fifth of nine children
Lomani	Female	25	11	Youngest of eight sisters; father died in her infancy
Kolangkalleva	Female	50	11	Second of five children
Kolmani the Seeress	Female	45	15	Youngest of two children; orphaned in infancy

Another point of procedure should be mentioned. Although I did not feel sufficiently in command of the language to dispense with an interpreter, I was able to check his translations and particularly the sequence of thought.

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[*kari*]. Manifani came to doctor me and I felt better. He said, "Did I help you or not?" I said he had helped me. I told him about all the spirits I saw sitting around us. Manifani was pleased and said he would get areca for us to chew. But when he came back I was crazy again. Then Manifani pulled the evil spirit [*kari*] out of my windpipe. 159x 785

All the time I was sick, I didn't remember what I was saying. People wanted to bury me while I was still talking, but father would not let them. He told them to wait until my body started rotting. One night I was sleeping, and father was sleeping beside me to keep watch. I threw out my arm and began rubbing and pulling at my father's stomach. Father woke up. I was groping around for my loincloth. Father said, "Oh, he is already better; he remembers his loincloth." He asked me if I wanted anything to eat, and I said I did, so they gave me some of the [sacrificial] rice that Padama had cooked to feed his loku spirit. After that I wasn't crazy any more. 159x

When I was better but still staying in the house, I saw my guardian spirits [*timang*] for the first time. There were many people [spirits] in the house, but I was the only one who saw them. They were wearing shields and carrying weapons. There were many of them and they were rushing back and forth in the house. These spirits were Lanma-Malema, Telakang-Telabiki, and Bikilasing-Kanglasing. [These represent three pairs of brothers.] At that time I stopped eating peas and bananas [a food taboo imposed by his guardian spirits]. These were the spirits I received from my ancestors. 159x 787 [262]

Now I eat peas and some bananas. I don't follow my guardian spirits any more. When they first came they said they would shoot evil spirits [*kari*]. Their place is a tree in Afengberka and one in Old Karieta. I used to feed them [i.e., make sacrifices], but now I don't feed them there or in my house. They used to come often before I was married, but now they don't come any more. I haven't seen them much since I married. Now I have to call them with a gong. But I can still see evil spirits [*kari*] and ghosts [*bawoting*].

[Question.] I have cured five people and have been given a pig each time for it. [Very large payments.] If a person has been shot [supernaturally], I rub the place with areca and pull the thing out. I can't show what I extract. I have to hide it. I can extract pebbles [*bikey*] and poison, but I can't extract [supernatural] arrows. 159x

November 29, 1938

Today I want to talk of my food taboos. When my grandfather died my father kept them, and when my father died I kept them. I cannot eat 159x 262

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Fehawa belonged to Mangma's father. His own mokos were a Hawa-159[a]
taka and a Kolmale. Mangma hoped his father would use the Fehawa as
the initial payment.] I said I wanted to use the Fehawa, so my father
gave back the areca nuts. Then Mopada and I went to Rualwati.
We gave areca to the girl's grandfather, and then we went up into
the house where the girl and her mother were. Her mother came
up to me and put her arms around me, saying I was just like Senma,
the girl's first husband. The mother said she could give me a wife.
The girl laughed too. The mother then offered me, not Kolmani,
but her older sister. So I said, "All right, they are both women." So the
older sister said, "Let us go down." But she was talking with her mouth
and not with her heart. She ran away to another house, so we didn't
sleep together. She probably didn't want to marry me. Her mother was
cooking and saw that I didn't eat takoij beans, so she cooked luong beans
for me instead. I took a small spoon but her mother said, "Here is a
large spoon. This small spoon won't fill your mouth." Then the girl's
father said, "In three days bring a chicken and a loincloth." In three
days I returned with them and with a necklace too. On the way home
I gave the brother, Mopada, a bow and arrows. When we came to the
ravine I said, "You'd better take these. Perhaps a spate will wash me
away." When I got home I told father what had happened, and he said,
"It is the same whether women are old or young." When I went back
the mother of the girl was sick. I stayed to help watch her. The father
of the girl told her to take water up to her mother, but she said, "There
is someone up there, and I don't want to go up." Her father said, "Don't
talk like that. You must be sought after or you will be poor." He said
to me, "I have another woman for you if this one does not want to
marry. She will never be rich; she will be poor." After that I went
home. Later I heard that her mother had died, so I didn't go back for a
while. Meanwhile the father of Fungalani [his present wife] said he
had a woman for me. He sent Fungalani to me. Meanwhile the father
of the girls in Rualwati sent a man down to me to say that the younger
sister, Kolmani, would come to me since I had two mokos. But I said,
"Those women were afraid of me." I told the man that their father
could keep the presents I had given. I said I already had a wife in
my house. [Question.] The father of the girls was not angry, because my
wife, Fungalani, was also a distant female relative of his.

December 14, 1938

Last night I dreamed that my sister Fuimau [who was living with 159[x]
him at the time] was making a fire in her garden. I asked her what she 787

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159 was doing, and she said she was just burning weeds. Then I went back
787 to the village.

Night before last I dreamed I went to Maninmu's garden to hunt rats. No one had yet dug there for them and the runways were fine. I hunted along the runways for burrows and dug them out. Then Maninmu came and said, "Why do you come here spoiling my garden and digging it up? You can't do that." So I said, "I didn't do it. Someone else was here and dug these holes." I lied to him. Then I woke up. [Informant laughed.]

[What is the meaning of Fuimnu's fire?] It means that if I go all the
[753] time to the fields to work I will get a headache. That was a sickness dream. [It is true that he is one of the most indefatigable gardeners among the older men.]

[753] [Rat-runs?] That means that if I had shot those rats, I should have had a stomach-ache.

159 I dreamed also that Malikaliets said Fungats was to come and live in Alurkowsti. [Malikaliets's son had recently paid the token or engagement price on Fungats, but no bride-price had been paid yet.] Manikari, her brother, said that she could not go to Alurkowsti because the bride-price had not yet been paid. Fungats went to Alurkowsti but came right back.

[At this point I had to break off because death wailing began next door and conversation was impossible. In this last episode Mangma was probably using a dream form to tell a bit of current gossip.]

December 16, 1938

[On the preceding day Mangma went to Awasi.]

Day before yesterday I dreamed that my grandmother, Tilamale, planted squash inside of a fence. Then I secretly entered the fenced-off place. The squash were all ripe. One was as big as my thigh. I took it and ran, but Lanali [his mother's younger sister] yelled that I had stolen a squash. Then I woke up. [I had the only fenced garden in the Five Villages at that time. Later in the hour Mangma said that Lanali was the person who prevented his staying to sleep with a Lakawsti woman on one occasion.]

[787] This means that I shall have a sick stomach. That is what it means
753 when I dream of a squash. [Meaning of thieving?] If we take something from dead people and they are not angry with us, that is a sign that we will get sick and die. But if they are angry with us and chase us away, it is a sign that even if we get sick we won't die. We die if people are fond of us.

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ladder too, and I go up and down it in two steps." That woman was long in harvesting corn and didn't come. She said that evening, "We have talked until nightfall. We had better sleep together and be happy together before you return." But my mother sent her younger sister, my aunt Lemali, to fetch me. My mother knew where I was, and she said, "Those people from Lawetika are such that if you sleep one night with their girls they arrive with an expensive dowry consisting of a valuable snake [i.e., force a marriage with a high bride-price]." When I married my wife, Fungulani, the other Fungulani heard about it and said she had spoken first to me and that she too was coming to my house. But I said, "That is all right too, but you spoke to me first. If I had spoken to you first, it would have been all right. If you wish to come that is satisfactory, but I have only two snakes. Your bride-price will be only a Kolisale [worth 13 rupiahs]. Fungulani's bride-price will be the Hewetaka [worth 20 rupiahs]." She didn't come.

159[x] 584 [35]

December 17, 1938

Last night I dreamed twice. People had cut some papayas in the field of Fuipeni [wife of the chief of Alurkowati] and in Lamuwa's field [Mangwa's dead younger brother]. They had cut off the whole crown and just the trunk was left. The fruit had fallen around the base of the trees. We felt them and only two were ripe. Matinghalieta [Mangwa's aunt], Lenfani [her daughter], and Padeta of Hambeeka ate the papayas with me. There were only two ripe ones. The others lay there on the ground. The rain came and a large spate descended. We ran, but my younger brother, Lamuwa, was washed away. We went to look for him. He came back and joined us, but he was a dead person and said nothing. The spate had split into two branches; one had cut through the field of the murder of Dikinga and one had cut through my garden. It had dried up. We followed its course down to the foot of the slope. There was a bubbling spring there. We went back up the slope a short way and then I woke up.

[Meaning of the cut papaya tree?] I don't know what that means but I think of a human head cut off. Eating and peeling ripe papayas means I will get a rash. [Spate?] That means a big rain will fall, a very big one, and there will be many spates but they will stop soon. The spring at the foot of the hill means that if I wash my hands in it I will get many gongs. [Split spate bed?] When the big rains come, they will come from two directions, and it will dry in the middle. [Afraid of spate?] I was very afraid when the spate carried off Lamuwa, because I was afraid it would carry us off too. I was afraid for myself.

159[x] 787

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X 159 In another dream I went to cut weeds. Malang [a Lebe man] 787 brought four new pieces of cloth and gave them to me, saying, "Later you can give me five cents for these." [This was a ludicrously low price.] This means that the weeds will be very thick in my garden. I dreamed this because yesterday I was weeding. If the cloth had been for shrouds, the dream would have meant that my rice would die. Now I will have a good crop, because heavy weeds mean the rice too is growing profusely. If the weeds grow fast I shall pull them out.

X 159 [What do you want to talk about?] I want to talk about a woman 182 I almost married. I was still a young man when my father gave Berkalani a Tanamnis moko. My father and I went together to dun for its payment. They wanted to give me a woman instead. I said, "Oh, it is my father's moko. I am here only to help him dun." In two or three days the uncle of a woman came to talk to me, saying, "If Berkalani gives you a moko, leave it here as a bride-price." This girl's family was being dunned for a moko by other people, so they wanted to make a deal. But I said, "This does not belong to me. I shall have to take it back to my father." My father had already left, and I stayed on to get the moko. In two or three more days the uncle came to me again and said the girl was very fond of me and did not want any other man. He said I had better leave the moko and go back with the woman. In another two or three days the same thing happened. [He was relating this with much relish.] The girl's uncle gave a dance for his corn harvest. That night the woman came to me and without saying anything put six areca nuts in my basket. In the morning the woman said to me, "I have sent my elders to ask you and now I come myself." She spoke to me in my dialect, and I spoke to her in hers. We joked together in this way. I talked so much with her my mouth was tired. I was sitting on my host's verandah resting, when I heard the woman say to her mother, "Mother, I have talked to this man; he does not want to marry me." After that her family got a Kolmale moko from Ruaheelang, and she married there. She is still there.

X 159 [When did you first sleep with a woman?] I first slept with a girl from Karieta. We hid ourselves in the fields. Then I made a house for her and she lived there with her mother and father. They started raising chickens and pigs there. I slept there too. Then Fanalurka came and spoke crookedly to that woman, saying she should marry him. He talked crookedly to me, saying the woman wanted to marry someone else. So I went to sleep in another house. She sent word to me, saying, "Perhaps we don't cook good food in this house?" So I went back to

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Chapter 13

Malelaka the Prophet

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Malelaka's claim to fame rested on his supernatural relationships to Good Beings. In 1929 he had predicted the imminent arrival of these Beings, whose presence in the village would put an end to death and illness. The people were very much excited by his prophecies and were willing to build special houses in which to lodge the supernatural guests. The government was suspicious of these activities and sent troops to demolish the houses and arrest Malelaka.

At the time that Malelaka gave his autobiography he was once more cautiously predicting the arrival of Good Beings, but the people were far more skeptical this time. In the first hour I made no mention of these activities, but instead spurred his life history and early memories, saying that I did not want descriptions of ceremonies and other comparable ethnographic data.

He launched into a long imaginary conversation he had had recently with "my friend, the Good Being."

April 30, 1939

When I was still small, perhaps twelve or thirteen, the sun spoke to me, saying, "I come now to tell you that you won't get sick. You may have boils and wounds, but other sicknesses will not afflict you. The first time you have a child I shall come and speak to you and you must make a house." When the people heard these words, they said, "We must make a house," but I said, "No, we should wait till they [the Good Beings] come down from above." They said, "No, we must make the house first." [With utter disregard for the time element he was now off on his Good Being exploit of 1919.] Then Mokikaliets's familiar spirit said I should use a bow and arrows. When the five Good Beings came, they saw the bows and arrows in the house we had built for them. They were afraid and went away again. I was asleep and woke up to see that the Good Beings' mountain was hanging in mid-air. They held up their hands with their five fingers spread. This meant they would return in five years.

When I got out of jail, I waited two years, and in the third year I made a house again. [This was about August 1938.] Seven days ago I heard them tell me that in one month they would come, and that

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[59] The Lakahima people danced that night but the Sonbieta people did not. A Sonbieta man called, "Why don't you people come down and join in the dance?" but the people answered, "Our stomachs are full of rice cone and we want to sleep. You owners of the spirit altar can dance." Then the dream broke off.

Near dawn I dreamed again. I dreamed there was a wire chain hanging down from the sky and my soul climbed up to the sky on it. As I approached there was a tree. It was hanging upside down with its roots in the sky. I took hold of it and went on up and found myself with my head down and my feet up. I was afraid and searched for the wire chain to come down. I was afraid of falling. Halfway down I said, "In that tree I was upside down and nearly fell. It is lucky I got away." When I got down to my house, I looked up and saw the sky was very dark and distant. Then someone spoke behind me, saying, "Who ordered you to climb that wire? It is very far. If you had fallen, your bones and body would have disappeared in mid-air. They would never have reached the earth." I went to the next dance place and people were tying a python to a carrying pole. I asked what it was for, and they said, "We wanted to sell this to the nonya [I had a short time before bought a python skin], but she has one already and that is all she wants. She is through buying. So now we want to take this to Kalabahi to sell." Then Paulus Bosar and his younger brother, Jacobis, carried it off. I woke up.

[60] [I asked why these dreams were bad.] When I dream of rice cones, it is a sign that people will fight and get wounds. Once before I dreamed of them, and my female kinswomen, among whom the cones were divided in my dream, have all been wounded—Malienni [his sister], the adopted daughter of the chief of Alurkowati, and my wife. [These women had really received more or less severe wounds during the last year.]

[61] [Question.] The ascent to the sky is a sign of hunger. It means there will be a big storm and the people will be hungry because the cassava and sweet potato crop will fail. [Actually the recent storm had made bad inroads on the gardens. Question.] The snake was already tied; so that was a sign of buying a moko. Maybe someone will bring a valuable moko here, and we will buy it but resell it right away.

May 10, 1939

[64 65] Yesterday the tumukun called the people to work on the government camp. Last night I dreamed all the people gathered and worked very hard until they had repaired it all and even removed the sand washed

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1964
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X159 father threatens to castrate any man he caught with his wife and to put the penis into the slit vagina of the woman. His great-grandfather had actually done this. At the age of five or six he witnessed intercourse between a boy and a girl, whereupon he decided to uphold public morals by informing the girl's older brother. There were no threats about masturbation that he can remember. He reports that in childhood he stuffed a pea into his ear, but the significance of this cannot be determined. The most common tie-up in his fears of women is with his anxieties about wealth and prestige; he is in constant fear of being impoverished by them. Although this is possible in the culture, Malelaka's attitude about it is decidedly neurotic.

X159 Malelaka's career as a seer dates from puberty. He had his first en-
X197 counter with spirits when he was about twelve. One day when he was alone in the house, he found two red fish in his shawl. He was amazed and rushed out to tell someone of his great discovery. When they returned the fish had disappeared. Malelaka says that on that very evening he began to have second sight. He saw two strange beings, who informed him that they were kind spirits from the sea.

On another occasion, while he was visiting a man he saw the man's daughter as a witch whose head and arm, separated from her body, floated about searching for souls, which are revealing to the Alorese. When he was about seventeen or eighteen, after an illness following the eating of fish, several good spirits announced themselves to him. They said they were not evil creatures and asked him why he did not abstain from sea food. Whereupon he knew that his familiars were sea spirits, which meant they would bring him wealth. Before he identified these spirits as sea beings, he had a vision of the sun speaking to him, promising him that he would not get sick and ordering him to build a house. This was a promise of supernatural aid. Later he had a vision of the mountains suspended in the air.

Malelaka's dreams are constantly occupied with supernatural beings. In his dreams he is always foretelling doom—earthquakes, the end of the world, pestilence, or some similar disaster. Some of these dreams of doom took place at a time when there was a severe storm raging on the island; there had also been an earthquake, which did very little damage, however. On this occasion Malelaka dreamed that the world was coming to an end and that all the dead were waked; but the dead reassured him, telling him he would not have to feed them.

X159 Another dream quite vividly describes his relations with the ethnographer and is very revealing of Malelaka's character structure. He

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November 17, 1938

[369] Last night I dreamed I saw a snail coming down the mountainside. It circled back and forth. A cement ditch for water was alongside the trail. Then the cement ditch turned into a bamboo water pipe. I saw an eel as big as my leg enter the water pipe. I thrust my hand in where the pipe was open, and with my other hand I cut the eel ten times and pulled it out. It was as thick as my calf and half an arm-span long. Just now I told my dream to old people and asked what it meant. They said it meant I would get a valuable snake.

[370] [He blocked on any further explanation. I tried to explain cultural dream interpretation versus free association dreams.]

When my father was sick but not yet dead, I dreamed I saw a big snake flying overhead. It had a board of tree moss. When it got over my head it dropped the board, and five fish fell at my feet. There was a pool of water there suddenly. I searched about in the pool for the fish and pulled out a great many crayfish. The old people said that meant I would get a great deal of wealth. Then when my father died people came from all over with gongs and snakes and pigs. [He then gave an animated account of all the pigs that were killed for his father's death feast. He was obviously impressed himself and wanted to impress me.]

[371] [I asked how old he was and how he felt when his father died.] It was only about three and a half years ago. I still didn't have real thoughts then [yet he must have been over twenty]. I didn't know about feasts. I didn't know how to pay the gravediggers. I brought out the snakes and gongs, but my elder relatives divided them up. [Was your father sick a long time?] No, just about two years. It began in Hambarka. When he felt a little better he came back here. Then he had a boil high on his thigh, but that healed. Then he had ordinary sickness, headaches, but no fever. He coughed but no blood came. Once when there was a war my father was shot in the breast, and the arrow point broke off and stayed there. The arrow point moved around, and when it moved, my father had pains in his chest. He died of that. One night father died and we beat gongs for him, but in the morning he came back to life and said, "I am not dead. Just beat the gongs for my elder brother [who was dead]." Then my father died again and came back to life. Four times it happened. All the people thought we should send for Rilpada [the seer] and ask his familiar to take away my father's soul. My father sat up and chewed areca. He asked the seer for tobacco. When he smoked he said, "All my children are gathered about me. If the smoke I blow out milk out of my mouth straight ahead, I shall live.

1:Du Bois R-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Also OFS

If it curls around my mouth, I shall die." He blew out the smoke and it curled out straight ahead. He said, "Now I shall live." But the seer sent his familiar spirit, and it took father's soul far off. And my father died. As I was holding my father in my arms I put my hand under his mouth, and a tooth dropped out into my hand. That was a sign that there would be another death soon, and in a short time mother died.

[How long was it before your mother died?] Mother died a year and a half after my father; it was two years ago. [How?] Pedata the Leper and his wife separated. The wife married a kinsman of ours in Makongfokung. The Makongfokung people would not eat the food that the people of Karieta [Pedata's village] cooked and vice versa. The Karieta people made magic against Makongfokung with their pounding stone. Makongfokung made magic against Karieta with their mahong spirit. Pedata gave a frog and paid my mother for a shroud with a mako and rice. My mother carried them right through to the Makongfokung people, to our relatives. In Makongfokung the mahong spirit must have hit my mother, because she came home and was sick. She defecated blood. Mother was sick for two and a half months. [Which hurt most, your father's or your mother's death?] When mother died I cried for ten days. But I cried for ten days too when my father died. Whenever I went any place alone I would think and then cry a lot. I feel my mother and father were good because they gave birth to me. If they hadn't I wouldn't be here now. I am still here, so I feel I have a debt to pay. They fed me and gave me drink when I was small. I must pay that debt to them. I am raising three pigs now, and the next good year [1940] I shall give a death feast for both of them. That is the debt I must pay. I think and think of my father and mother. They slept together. Father used up all his semen. Mother was pregnant and had trouble because of me; people had to watch over her until I was born. I was small but she fed me. When I slept she made me comfortable; she had to clean up my feces. My mother and father went to work and had to come back to fondle me when I cried. Mother had to come back from the fields, from fetching water and firewood. Father would start someplace and I would cry, and he would have to come back to fondle me. When I was hungry they cut bananas for me. My maternal grandparents came bringing things and had to be fed. When I was still bloody [i.e., newly born] my mother had to sit in the house from four to six days with me. My mother had trouble because of me. Death feasts are to pay for all this care. [Pause. I felt throughout this speech that Fanton was saying something rehearsed, or was expressing just a standard

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159 cultural sentiment, and yet that all these things were full of emotional content for him.] So now too it is the hungry season. If people who have lots of food remember us and give us food, good food, we remember them when food is plentiful and pay them back. [Long pause. Was [123] this last speech a bid for a food gift from me as an expression of love? I definitely played a maternal role for the informant.]

When I was maybe six years old, a man from Kelaisi was our guest. He gave us a coconut. I was out in the fields with my father when he was cutting weeds. I took a knife to open the coconut and eat it. My [245] father told me not to do that but to plant it. I wanted to cut weeds, but my father didn't want me to. I cried, but he would not come up to fondle me. So I took the coconut and threw it down the hillside at him. It hit his side. He took a stick and chased me. I ran, but he caught up with me and beat me from my head to my thighs.

When I was ten or twelve years old, Kolaka [an older sister] called me to come and mind her baby. We went together to Lakmelang. I took care of the baby for five days; then Kolaka wanted to go to Atimelang. I was afraid to be left alone and I cried, so she came back and we went up into the house together. Then after a while Kolaka went out. While I wasn't looking she went off to Atimelang. She left me there. I left the child in the house and started out to follow her. I got down as far as the Limbur ravine, and there I met a big man from Rualmelang. He pulled out his sword and said he was going to kill me. I was afraid and ran away. When I got back to Kolaka's house the baby was still sleeping. That evening Kolaka came back. The next morning I went back to the river and saw a large eel trap. There was a dead rat in it. I took it away and saw a great big eel in the trap. Then I carried the eel back to the village still alive. When I got there Padats's father said, "A child has brought back an eel, so my women had better cook rice." His women cooked rice and we all ate together. [This he told with much pride.] The next day I went again to the trap. There was nothing in it but there was a bird near it. I caught it and went back to the village to play with it. An old man took it from me to eat. [Question.] I wasn't angry, because his wife was my mother's cousin.

After a while I came back to Atimelang with Kolaka and my father. [821 One morning I got up at sunrise and looked at the sun. I saw two, one 787] on the eastern horizon and one overhead. I went in and told my mother and father, and they told me not to speak about it. It was a sign of good luck. [If one told good omens, they would not materialize.]

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159 perts to divine for him. The results of these divinations had directed his attention to three possible sources of danger. One was the spirit of his father's lineage house in Makangfokung, which was putatively responsible for the death of male children in Fantan's line. A second was the evil spirit of a knoll called Manifula, where Fantan as a child had found a crab, which he carried home and which was identified, *post hoc*, as a manifestation of the local supernatural being. The third source of danger was his place of residence. After these diagnoses Fantan went to purchase various "countermedicines." Of these he managed to secure only one. Although he declared his intention to continue his search for the proper remedies, he showed no persistence and in time the matter was dropped.

On this particular day Fantan arrived declaring he was very frightened. He reported that on the night before bats had come wheeling and squealing into his house and had frightened him and his wife. In addition, his wife, who had stepped out of the house, came running back, saying she had seen a dark figure that had tried to seize her. The two were apparently terrified, and Fantan burned some of his newly acquired medicine and then left to spend the rest of the night in another house. Fantan was obviously disturbed by the whole episode. He was sure that he was the victim of malignant spirits, and he was making the most of the matter to me.

The subsequent development along these lines occurred a week later and led to further events in connection with the disposal of his Makassar moko.

His Father's Grave

April 20, 1939

On the preceding day a grave at Karieta had caved in. The kin were worried and called Rilpada the Seer for advice. Rilpada's familiars said that the soul of the dead man was dragging into the grave the souls of several living kin. The seer recaptured them and returned them to their owners. Fantan heard of this and was worried. He went to examine his father's grave and saw that it too had settled. He sent his wife and sister to fetch Rilpada to investigate the matter. His wife and sister, however, decided that they preferred the services of Padatimang and summoned him instead. Padatimang's familiars revealed that Fantan's soul had indeed been dragged into his father's grave. The seer then recovered it and returned it to him. However, he told Fantan secretly that he had also discovered in the grave the soul of Malikalieta, the rich kinsman with whom Fantan had been having so much difficulty about the

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Manimale came and danced up and down brandishing a sword. Maybe he wanted to strike someone, I don't know. I saw my wife standing there watching him. Her stomach was flat as though she were not pregnant. All night long people and spirits came to me. I was very afraid and finally sat up and smoked to wake myself up."

When I asked what Manimale meant to him, he could make only the association with *Manifuls*, where the malignant spirit that pursued him lived. I asked about his wife, and his only response was that she too had been restless and frightened, but he returned immediately to his own fears and worries. He then went on to say that about two weeks before, when he had gone to Kalabahi with me, he had dreamed that the young radjah had come to him and had said that since Fantan's young squash were ripe he wanted them to eat. Fantan's interpretation was that squash represented human beings and that the dream was a forecast of his child's death.

From this time on Fantan was preoccupied with the series of fears and anxieties described under the heading, "Fright," page 385.

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

Fantan differs from the other men whose autobiographies we have read much as a city slicker differs from a farmer. He is sophisticated and has had experience with more sophisticated coastal people. Whether or not he has accommodated himself to them is not altogether clear, but within a certain range he knows their ways of thinking and how to get along with them. He knows particularly how to play upon people's sympathies to get what he can out of them. Fantan differs from the other men also in that he has a slightly cosmopolitan air. He has had three years of schooling and has traveled to the neighboring island of Pantar with a native schoolteacher. In other words, we have here an extremely shrewd, somewhat educated young Alorese.

Fantan's story differs from the others in that it deals largely with the concrete activities, difficulties, and problems of his current life. There are very few fantasies, and those in which he does indulge center primarily around practical affairs. In spite of all this, Fantan is a true Alorese, for he is compelled to live within the circuit prescribed by Alorese institutions. About some of these he has his tongue in his cheek, but from others he has no opportunity to escape, and his enlightenment avails him nothing on that score.

Fantan is the youngest of six siblings. At the time the story is told he has two sisters living. Two of his brothers died before he was born

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159 his bride-price, one Maningmauk moko, to pay for the goat. The eight-eared Makassar moko of his bride-price we gave to my brother to pay for his wife, Kolang. At that time my grandfather died. Likma's bride-price of an Itkira moko, a goat, and a pig we used for his death feasts. At that time I was staying in my husband's house, and we came with his parents and siblings to help with the feast. The tumukun and Fanseni, who were the Male House, said I was just like a man, because I lived in the same village and didn't go off to another. [Likma, her husband, was born in Rualmelang but since childhood has lived in Atimelang.] My heart was heavy when my grandfather died. A Manetati man shot him. Likma went to fetch gongs and mokos. He got a Piki, a Kabali, and a pig. This was a consolation payment [*singnaug*, literally meaning "tears and mucus"] to the Male House for their grief and assistance at the burial.

When Likma made a feast for his father, I went with him to his village. My family gave him a large pig as a dowry payment to help with the feasts. Then my husband built a lineage house in Atimelang. He went for help to my older brother, Mailani, at Lawatika. Mailani gave him a large pig when the house posts were dragged in. When the posts were erected, Mailani gave another pig and rice. When the room framework was erected, Mailani helped; again when the house was thatched, Mailani helped. My brother Mailani got some of my bride-price to pay for his wife, and so he liked me and my husband and gave us many dowry payments. He was pleased with me and gave me much.

December 15, 1938

I dreamed I was on the coast. I wanted to come back but there were two deep pools in the ravine. A path went between them. In front of me the two pools came together and formed one. There was a house up above them belonging to Maipada. I said we had better make a fire in the house and warm our hands. We entered the house, built a fire, and warmed our hands. We were Nitaniel's mother, her two sons called Manipeni and Padaleni, and my two daughters, Fuimai and Kolaka. When we were warmed we wanted to go on. As we set out, the house behind us caught fire and burned up. We said, "Oh, the Kafe people are chasing us." We ran and came to a village of three or four houses with many large bundles of wood. We came to another ravine. We crossed it, but we didn't know where we were going. Suddenly we came to Vitieng [in the vicinity of Atimelang]. Then I woke up.

[Meaning of the two pools?] They may mean that rain or the soldiers are coming. [Of the house's burning?] That may mean that by and by

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Lonmai and Maipada will be sick. [Of the large wood bundles?] When I see bundles of wood like that, it means people will come at night to steal my pigs or mokos. [Were you afraid at being lost?] I was very much afraid; people were chasing us. [Why would they want to chase you?] Because we had burned the house; they were shouting and brandishing swords.

Again I dreamed. Four men from Manek were sleeping in the loft of my house. They said they were hungry and asked why I didn't give them cassava. So I asked, "Real cassava or what? Speak clearly." They said, "We are persons with food taboos." I cooked food but they didn't want it; they wanted raw food. So I gave them raw rice. I put part on a plate and part I placed in their baskets. They ate the rice raw. They left to go to Alurkowsti. I followed them and said, "Don't go; stay here." They said, "No, you must not follow us; go back." I went back. Maima [her younger brother] asked me, "Did you feed your guests?" I said I had given them raw rice; part they ate, part they carried off. Maima asked why they had not come to see him before leaving. I said, "They have gone. I followed them, but they didn't want me and sent me back."

Last night I dreamed that as I returned from Fuimangfal four evil spirits from there followed me back and sat on my verandah. They had long canine teeth. They wanted to shoot me. My soul cut off their heads. Their heads were rotten when I cut them off. Kolmani [the wife of Langmai and Tilapada's next door neighbor] said, "You have killed *amo ho amakang* [literally, 'a person his human being'; the meaning here is obscure]." I said I had killed them because they wanted to shoot me. Then they came back to life and chased me. I cut off their heads again. Kolmani helped me cut their throats. We hacked their legs and hands and made hash of them. One was already dead when the other three said, "We had better go." We said, "We have killed an evil spirit. Perhaps there will be a litigation. We had better sit quietly and wait." However, no one said anything, and the evil spirits did not return. I woke up.

I think maybe these were the evil spirits of Kolmani the Seeress who were chasing me. No evil spirit would be following just me. Kolmani was in the dream, so maybe they were following her. I think they were her evil spirits.

When I was still small, there was an earthquake. My mother was pouring rice into a storage tube. An older brother, Padalani, picked me up and ran with me. Fanlaka, another brother, couldn't run any longer. He stopped and a house collapsed on him. When people came and released him from the debris, he was not hurt. My mother carried him to Fola-

159 feng. I don't remember this. My mother and father told me about it when I was older.

[First memory?] I remember that when I was very small my mother carried me to the field with her and I sat behind her playing jacks while she worked.

154 When I was little, not big enough to work in the fields, we played
857 house. The girls made bean cones and the boys hunted rats. It was a house that Padalan [father of the tumukun] had made. Girls and boys played together. [She named five girls and three boys. She had difficulty recalling the boys' names.] Another time we played in a field house. Six of us girls played there. We made a rice cone, but a fight broke out, so we hid it and went to watch the fight. When we came back for our rice
158 cone it was gone. Grown men who were hunting rats had found it and eaten it. We said, "Who took our rice cone?" They said, "We did." So we didn't say anything; we just picked up the dish, fetched corn and vegetables, and went home.

[What was the fight about?] Atabiki's first wife, Helangmai, was fighting with his second wife, Lonmale. We were still small and so didn't join in.

December 17, 1938

I dreamed night before last that my soul went to Paiyope, where Letmai [a distant relative of her husband] gave me three large bundles of corn, thirteen small bundles, a gong, and a Maningmauk moko. I carried them home. When I reached the ravine my neck was sore [from carrying so much]. When I set the load down on our verandah, my husband said, "Put the corn in the house; set the gong and the moko in the loft."

● [187] This dream means that I will get much food this year.

Last night I dreamed my soul went to heaven [she used the Malay word]. I saw people being roasted, people who were in the wrong. The people who were honest sat in one room on chairs [which are associated with Europeans and status]. In another room they were roasting people. They used dry eucalyptus wood. Maliemai [a woman who had died a short time before] arrived and was seated on a chair. A man with a sword wanted to kill me. Someone said, "You can't kill her; she has not done wrong." Someone took me by the wrist and threw me down from heaven. I fell in the top of a tall tree; another man took me by the wrist and threw me down into the top of another shorter tree, and so on until I was near the ground. Then I climbed down the tree by myself. The tumukun

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said, "Where were you?" I said, "Perhaps I was taking Maliemai's soul to heaven." The tumukun said, "It is lucky you came back. Maybe you have brought Maliemai's soul back with you?" I said, "If I had been wrong, they might have burned me; but I wasn't wrong, so they brought me back down." The tumukun said, "Tell me more." So I said, "People who are wrong are probably burned up. Many people saw others being burned." The tumukun said, "It is lucky you came back. Go sit quietly." So I went to my house and then I woke up. 159×

Perhaps I dreamed this because I haven't yet fed my familiar spirit carving. I dreamed of the things about which the native missionary talked. When he was here there was a lot of church, and maybe his words were true. Perhaps I dreamed the truth. [797]

I had another dream last night. My husband carried bamboo to build a house at Vi Natu [the site of the government camp]. I said, "That bamboo is no good." Likma said, "Let us build the house." Then Maugata [Hendrik, her 18-year-old son] came; he was thin. I pounded corn to feed him.

This means that Maugata will be sick. [What does carrying bamboo mean?] This means people will hit Likma with rattan switches. [Why?] Because he may not have enough money for next year's taxes. [Meaning of the house at the government camp?] If the taxes are unpaid many people are beaten there at the camp. [787] [798]

[At this point Tilapada turned to the interpreter and asked how many days her son had been in Kalabahi. The interpreter answered that he had been gone five days.]

When we swung on ropes, there was one for girls and one for boys. We girls fell off first and the boys would drop on top of us. [Giggles.] We fought and fought, boys against girls. We went home to cook and eat, but we returned again and again to play on the rope. A girl who was on the bottom of the pile cried and said her skull was split. We were frightened and tried to pick her up. When we spoke nicely to her, she revived. We then went home. [795]

When I was about eleven or twelve, Fuimai, who was already married, came to me. She said her husband wanted to sleep with her and so we had better go sleep in an empty field house. We went to dig sweet potatoes, which we ate raw. At dark Makalaka came and threatened us with a sword. He asked why we were alone at night. Fuimai answered that she didn't want to have intercourse with her husband and had called me to sleep there with her. Makalaka asked why she had brought a small child like me to an empty house to sleep. Fuimai said her hus-

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December 19, 1938

Last night I dreamed that my soul went to Hiengmang. The old former mandur's corn was partly ripe and partly green. I started to go through the field, but a man told me not to, so I hunted mushrooms instead. I didn't find any. I went to hunt for wood and got only a very small bundle. This I carried back to our village. As I was coming down the slope, my husband called to me to hurry because Lopada was giving her "verandah smearing" feast. So I pounded corn and took food to her feast. The pig had been killed. They divided the food and we all came back together. 159X

[Meaning of ripe corn?] That means someone will die; it is a bad dream. [Of man forbidding entrance to garden?] Perhaps my soul had gone to the village of the dead and that was the reason I was not allowed to enter. [Mushrooms?] Maggots. [She reacted vigorously and with the one word. Small wood bundle?] That means people are planning to steal from me because we haven't yet paid some debt to them. To pound corn means that one of my children will be sick. [Any other meaning?] No. It is just a dream of sickness. 159X 787

Last night I dreamed again that Langmai [her neighbor and distant kinsman] and Helangmai [her husband's kinswoman] were walking on a cement strip like a path. On either side was a dark hole like a ravine. It was night. Those two fell off the side of the path into the darkness. I said, "They have fallen off; let us go fast." We went on and reached Benleleng [on the coast]. I said, "If those two are following us, that is good." We kept looking back as we ran but they were not following us. They had disappeared. Finally we reached here and I woke up. 159X

[Who was with you?] Kolpada, the wife of Langmai; Maileta, the brother-in-law of Langmai; and Maipada, the child of Langmai. [Meaning of the path?] I don't know. It is the first time I have dreamed of such a thing. Maybe Kolpada's familiar spirit was leading us. In November and December all our dreams are bad. [Why?] Because the leaves are growing and are green. It is the time when all the people are sick. [Falling into the dark ravine?] This may mean that those two will sicken and die. When I am through talking here, I shall go tell them of my dream. [52]

When we were about eleven or twelve, we were playing at Feba. Maugpada came and said, "I am going to capture you children." He came toward us and raised his sword over our heads. We were fright-

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talking of killing us because Fanpeni was a close relative of ours. But my mother's paternal parallel cousin told us to come stay with him. He said, "If they are brave enough to kill you here in my house, let them try it." 159X

[Tilapada then told another murder story in which her younger brother, a boy of twelve, was shot.]

December 20, 1938

Tonight I dreamed that the lineage house of Faramasang was in ruins. The women all went up there to cook rice cones. The tumukun asked where the women were going, and I told him that the house was to be taken down and its parts stored in a shed. I said that it would be better if Atakalieta [the head of the lineage house] did not dismantle it. The tumukun said that Atakalieta had made the house, so we had better follow his wishes. Then we made rice cones and the men cut them up and divided them. They beat gongs. The tumukun's second wife put some of the rice cones in my basket and in Maliema's [the informant's younger sister]. We all came down home and sat on the verandah. The tumukun said, "Tomorrow or the day after, the house will be taken down." I said, "The house is not entirely in ruins; only the thatch is destroyed. It would be better just to re-thatch it." But the tumukun said it had to be taken down and put in a shed.

In the dream the thatch and rafters were gone; all the rest of the house was standing. It means some older man of the Kolhieta lineage will die—perhaps Atakalieta, Fanseni, the tumukun, or Manipada.

Again I dreamed. I and Falongpada went to fetch water. A big spate came and I said, "Oh, this will wash us away." Falongpada said, "We had better stand here until it has passed by." We stood and it dried up. Then I said we had better go fetch the water and be finished with this, but Falongpada said, "No, wait awhile until the water is no longer muddy." We did and then we got clear water. Suddenly I was at home and went up into my house. Falongpada went on to hers.

[To fetch water?] This is a sign of gongs and mokos. [To see a spate?] That is also a sign of gongs and mokos. We will get as many gongs and mokos as there were water tubes. We are now buying a large gong. We have already paid one Maningmauk moko to Maugseni. [Question.] I was not afraid in this dream. 159X 787

Toward dawn I dreamed that Lanpada, the chief of Rualkameng, bought a gong. He ordered a boy, Makanma, to tell me to cook and attend the feast. I took food and my husband took a broken gong and a 159X

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157 Piki moko to help Lanpada. The women all cooked rice baskets. I took a serving basket of raw rice. The people said, "Pay and be finished with this." So they went to the edge of the village and paid off the gong. The gong was put in Lanpada's house. We were fed at the house of Lanpada's younger brother. Then Likma, I, and my two children, Fuimai and Maugata, went home. I woke up.

159 787 [Meaning?] We took two gongs and mokos. That is a bad sign. It means the two children will be sick. The buying of a gong was good, but cooking rice baskets was bad. It means someone in Ruslkameng will be sick. If Lanpada had sold a gong, his wife would have been sick. Since he bought one, it means that one of the men selling it will be sick.

159 I dreamed there was a big spate below Manikameng. The water didn't follow its usual course but was flowing alongside the stream bed. Maima, my brother, asked, "Who changed the watercourse here?" Makalamo said, "Atakalieta did it to irrigate his sun corn." Maima and I wanted to fetch water. I said I was afraid of the spate, so Maima said he would fetch the water. The chief, Fanlaka, and he stood in the stream. I said, "Children, a large spate is coming. You mustn't stand there." Fanlaka and the chief said, "Only a small spate is coming, so it is safe." Maima didn't speak. I filled only one tube because I saw the spate coming. Then all four of us returned. We stopped at the verandah of the lineage house, Tilalawati. My older daughter, Fuimai, said, "Mother, where did you get the water?" I told her whence we had fetched it, that the stream had changed its course, and that a spate was coming and therefore I had drawn only one tube. She said, "Put the water here in my house." I did and woke up.

[Entering your daughter's house?] I put water in her house, which means I shall give her a moko as a dowry by and by. [Warning to men?] That is a sign of gongs, mokos, and pigs. I was very afraid of the spate in this dream. [Why is a fear dream a good one? She could give no answer to this.]

159 857 [She told the following with much enjoyment, laughing heartily at herself.] We went to cut weeds but played instead. There was a new rat-run, in which we caught a rat. Then we made a round pile of stones like a dance-place altar. We roasted the rat there and danced. Then Kolpada I said, "Tilapada is my husband. She catches rats and gives them to me." Kolang [female] said, "Matinglang [female] is my husband." Then Kolpada II said, "Tilafing [female] is my husband and will fetch rats for me." Lonmai was angry with Kolpada I and said,

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wife is poor. She has nothing. Tilapada's wives give her something." So Kolang gave Matinglang some areca she had in her basket. Then Kolpada I said, "If you get rats, give them to your wives." So I caught a grasshopper [which children roast and eat] and I gave it to her. Kolpada I said, "I don't eat rats, so give this to your second wife." Then Matinglang said, "You are a man who knows how to catch rats. If you get any, give them to my wife." The next time I caught a grasshopper I gave it to Matinglang, who gave it to her wife.

[The informant had to be stopped at this point. The behavior in this account was patterned closely on adult behavior between the sexes.]

December 21, 1938

I dreamed that Lopada called twelve people to come to her garden to cut weeds for a wage of ten cents. I went too. Fulpada said she was going to pick red peppers first, so I said I would join her. We didn't pick them one by one but broke off a whole plant. People called us to come. We answered that we had broken off a whole pepper plant and were coming. Lopada asked how many were working and I answered twelve. Lopada invited us to eat. After eating we worked until sundown and then went home. We passed a jack-fruit tree and I climbed it to get a fruit. Helanglang said she wanted one too, so I picked one for her. Helanglang's corn was ripe. She said she was going to look at it, so I left her and went on home. When I reached my verandah I awoke.

[Picking red peppers?] This means someone will get a cough. [Who will cough?] I'll probably be the one, since I dreamed of it. [Climbing the jack-fruit tree?] That means that I shall get meat. A party of men have gone off to hunt pigs and they will probably get some. [Ripe corn?] This means someone will die, someone belonging to Helanglang. [People working?] This means that rats will eat up Lopada's corn.

I dreamed that the mother and the father of the nonya came here. All the people took gongs and mokos and went out to meet them. The gongs made no noise. I could not hear their voices. Maima said, "Give me my dress comb." I took my dance anklets and carried them in my hands. We did not dance at the foot of the hill; instead the nonya's parents came here to this house. All the people went to carry cement to build a house here; everyone hunted wood, bamboo, and stones. A new cement floor was made near the kitchen building. Many people came from the government camp carrying cement. The cement craftsman came and said to me, "When I was here before, you gave me

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food, so now fetch me some again." I gave him a corn bundle. He built a cement wall here.

[Meaning of the parents' coming?] That means they or someone is surely coming. Before the nonya came I dreamed that she was coming. [Meaning of the bags of cement?] That means the nonya will buy a big moko. [Gathering stones?] That means the nonya is accumulating money to buy a moko. [Giving corn?] It means I have already given away the soul of my corn, so that I won't have a large crop this year. [Why were the gongs silent?] If the gongs don't beat, it means that no one will die, not even those who are sick. [Maima's asking for her comb?] This means that by and by there will be a very hot sun and no rain will fall.

We went to cut weeds, twelve of us. We were fighting in play, the boys and the girls. Fuima struck at Fanlang with a cassava stalk. Fanlang fell and hit his forehead hard, so that he had a big wound. He was dizzy. Fuima ran away to her grandparents in Bakudatang. Fanlang stayed in his house for two or three days. Then he said Fuima was to bring leaves of a certain kind to put on his wound. She did and his wound healed. Then we all worked together again cutting weeds.

At that time men were burning over a small area to drive wild pigs. Djetlang of Atimelang was killed by a person from Kalmaabui. They carried his body here, tied it to a tree, and cut the throat [i.e., cut off his head, because no slain person may be buried whole]. Then the villages of Alurkowati and Atimelang made war on Kalmaabui. They killed Lomai. Because of this we didn't go to our garden for many days.

Then the people of Atimelang decided to go make war on the people of Manetati. They went past Luba. The people of Luba had made pitfalls with sharpened bamboo on the trail. Mauglaka fell in and was wounded. He was carried here and died.

[I brought her back to personal anecdotes by asking for relationships with relatives.] We were all cutting weeds. The men cleared a space at the top of the field so the rats could not escape. There were many rats, and each time we got one we would fight about it. We fought because some had rats and the others, who had none, wanted them. We gave them to mother and father each time we caught them. [Question.] Mother and father scolded us for fighting and playing all the time. They told us to finish cutting the weeds.

The next day . . . [here she told a similar anecdote of cutting weeds and rat hunting]. We got a great many, and they were all divided up so that each woman had two to take home in her basket.

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X 154 [Again I asked for memories of parents or siblings. She related a standardized account of her and a sibling's following their mother to the garden and playing behind her as she worked.] At midday mother told me and my sibling to go back to the village. She said she would be home that evening. We played on the village dance place. We hid pieces of blady-grass stalks, and the others had to find them. The finder pounded a piece of the blady grass and said as he pounded it, "I am pounding your nose, your mouth . . . [she named a series of body parts]."

524 [Again I insisted on personal anecdotes.] Falongpada and I were playing hide-and-seek. Falongpada hid and sang out, "Kilikulu [equivalent to *ready*]." I answered, "I shall bite her leg. I shall bite her hand." When I found her I shouted, "Wah!" Then it was my turn to hide.

December 22, 1938

I dreamed that my soul went to Baletmia. There I saw much betel up in a mango tree. When I climbed up there was none there. So I came down and then saw another tree with much betel in it. I climbed it. When I went up the tree there were no houses. When I came down, I found myself descending into a house corridor. The doorway was closed with wall material and there was no ladder. I wondered how I would get down. I thought I could go down the house posts by one of the rat disks. Then I saw a woman come up on the verandah below. It was Tilapada [a stranger who had come to Atimelang on a visit some months before and whose baby died while she was in the village]. I said, "Oh, it is fine that you have come. I am glad. There is no ladder here and I was wondering how I would get down." Tilapada asked me, "Why do you come to my house?" I said I had climbed down from a tree and found myself in her house. She put up a ladder and I came down on the verandah. I thought the people might suspect me of stealing, so I opened my areca basket for them to see that I had nothing in it but the betel that I had just picked. I offered Tilapada areca and we chewed together. Then Tilapada said, "Mother, you have been gone long; you had better return now." She was eating a big fish and another woman there was eating limpets, but they did not offer me anything to eat [inhospitable behavior]. So I went away, followed the ravine, and arrived at the government camp. There were people gathered there. They asked where I had been. I awoke.

X 159 ● 787 [Meaning of this dream?] To pick betel means that I will get wounds, but small ones. Tilapada and that old woman were really in

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Sahiek [the village of the dead]; that is why they did not offer me food. If I had eaten there, I probably would have died. [Meaning of the descent into the house?] When I get wounds I'll be dizzy and unconscious; my soul will want to get up to heaven from Sahiek, but people will call me back and I shan't die. [No ladder?] This house is probably one of those in which people who died a violent death stay. They have probably had their heads or their spirit birds paid for; so they are shutting themselves in and are not wandering any more. [That is, special ceremonies have been given to placate their souls, and they are no longer malignant ghosts.]

[At this point I tried to get away from the conventional dream interpretation by using word associations. The informant did not seem to grasp the idea and insisted on long repetitions of the dream. The associations were as follows: *ladder*—top of waterfall, the place where a slain person is taken to be decapitated before head feasts are given; *mango tree*—person who has met violent death, or death from a particularly dreaded disease like smallpox; *empty house*—same as ladder; *closed door*—the dead man's door; *areca nut*—a wound; *betel*—a wound; *rat*—came down from the sky, referring to the fact that shooting stars are thought to turn into mice when they strike the earth.]

I dreamed again. I and Kolang cut bark for loincloths. We pounded it but could not make it soft, so we threw it away. I went for more. I saw Fuimai cutting down another tree for bark cloth. When I asked her for some, she said there was not much; there was only that one tree. But in her hands she had many pieces. Fuimai took the bark off the tree and put it in her basket. I woke up.

[Meaning?] Had I not thrown the bark away, the dream would mean that I would commit adultery. Fuimai did not throw away the bark; so that means she will commit adultery. [Fuimai was suspected in the village of sleeping with her young unmarried brother-in-law. Her husband was rarely at home.]

When I was small, my father cleared a big garden. Father carried me between his body and the arrows thrust into his belt. He took me thus to the garden feast. That evening when we came back he carried me in the same way. I cried when father left, but he said, "You stay here in the village; it is wartime." However, I continued to cry, so he carried me in this way. Mother too told me to stay home, but I just cried. That evening when we returned to the house, we ate the meat and rice baskets of the feast. The next day we all went to plant Mailang's rice field. I cried again and followed mother and father, so my

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[159] older brother, Padalani, carried me to the garden. I played all day on the threshing mat while my elders planted rice. When the planting was over and they had divided the rice baskets, mother carried the food and Padalani carried me. We got back by midday and I played with my brothers and sisters. We strung grasshoppers on strings and used them as necklaces. At nightfall we went into the house. Padalani hit me. Mailani [another brother] said, "Don't do that." When I cried, Padalani and Mailani fought. [Why was she hit?] Because I spilled some corn that Padalani wanted to parch.

[Who took care of her primarily when she was a child?] Fanlaka was too small; mostly it was Mailani who cared for me. [Whom did you take care of?] Maliema [a younger sister].

December 23, 1938

I dreamed I went to weed. My husband called, saying, "The children will weed; you come and cook." I had placed beans to leach. They were still a little bitter but I cooked them in two waters. Then the beans were good, so I boiled them with corn and fed the children. Toward evening I went home carrying all the raincapes. Then I woke up.

[787] This dream of weeding may mean that the rats will eat up all my corn.

I dreamed again that a large spate came down from Manetati. Likma, Padakalieta, and Langmai ran from it. I sat on my verandah and saw them coming. My husband did not have on his shawl, but one of the children's. They came up on the verandah and I woke up.

[787] This means a big rain will fall and people will run because they won't have their raincapes with them.

[222 224] [Her relationship to her father?] When I was thirteen or fourteen, my father and I went to the woods to get wild beans. Father took a dog with him to help hunt a pig. Father alone shot the pig. He brought the hindquarters and neck back to the village. [Question.] Kolpada and Fuikari were along too. Father cut the meat up into big pieces and divided the meat with his family. Then he invited people to eat at our house.

Once father called me to go dig sweet potatoes with him, and that evening we brought them back to the village. The next day he called me to go weed the sweet potatoes with him. I didn't do it well, so he hit my hands. When I cried he spoke nicely to me, so I went on with the weeding. In the evening I told mother that father had hit me, and

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[157] he fell sick and could not help with the planting. People said, "Let us hurry and get the planting done, because if he dies we shall not feel like planting." So we went to plant. Some people came running, saying father had died. I cried and cried as I ran home. They brought him to my house to bury him. People wanted to take him to Manek to bury because my cousin Fanpeni had killed a woman in Atimelang. That made me and Likma and Likma's parents feel bad, so we brought my father's body to our house and buried it here.

[Question.] I was with my husband for two years before my father died. I lived with his family and cooked for them, so they would feel like paying the bride-price quickly and buying my mother a strip of cloth [a necessary payment to the mother-in-law before a man may sleep with his wife]. They would want to collect many gongs and mokos to give my father if I stayed with them and fed them.

December 24, 1938

Last night I dreamed that my soul went to see Kolani. She was out of her head. Later she died. I cried and came down to my house. Today Kolani is better. [This was probably a real experience, not a dream.]

I dreamed that I went to Watahieng, where Lakamobi was building a large field house. I saw people cutting weeds and asked why. They said Lakamobi was going to pay them for doing it, so I joined them. That evening Lakamobi did not give us money but said he would pay us the next day. On the way home I met the tumukun, who asked me where I had been. I told him about it and said that we would probably be paid the next day.

[177] [Meaning?] To weed means that the rats will eat the corn crop. [Dream of money?] That I was not paid in my dream means that in reality I shall receive money.

Last night I also dreamed that Fuimau [the wife of Padata the Leper] had a big Itkira moko. She has come to us for many pigs. She said that if we would give her a Kabali moko and the pigs, she would give us the Itkira. I said we had no Kabali moko but we had a gong worth one. She said that would be all right, so I went up into the house to fetch it, but I could not find it. Then Likma went up and he found it and brought it down. Later Fuimau brought us the Itkira.

[178] [Meaning of not finding the gong?] To dream of a gong means the soul of a girl child. This dream means that my dead ancestors will not make my children sick, but since Likma found it, it means his ancestors will make one of my daughters ill.

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159 them to me to eat, and the unripe ones we brought home and gave to my younger siblings.

[Was she glad to go to her husband's house to live?] I did not want to go, but father and mother spoke nicely to me, so I went. His house was at the other end of the village. I stayed there from then on. Helangfani took me there. She was the wife of Likma's father's brother. In the household were many people. Likma's parents were dead. In the house lived Likma, his paternal uncle, Maipada, and Maipada's wife, Helangfani. There also lived Mailang, Kolmani, Lanmo, Lakaseni, Atamai, Maraipada, and Atabiki. Most of these were grown up. Kolmani and I were the only children. Likma was already grown up. He was eighteen or twenty. From then on I forgot my family. I went all the time with Kolpada [the wife of Langmai] to fetch wood and water and to work in the gardens. When I went there my husband wanted to sleep with me but I said that first he must buy my mother's strip of cloth. After one year father died. [Note the inconsistency with her previous statement.] Then my husband raised pigs and used two to buy a strip of cloth for my mother. We slept together from then on. Mother lived a long time. [She died about 1931.]

[How long before the birth of a child?] I had been in Likma's house six years before Fuifani was born. I took a contraceptive. [That is, she chewed a leaf. She showed signs of embarrassment when she spoke of this subject.]

[842 278]

December 26, 1938

Last night I dreamed that Fuimau [the wife of Padata the Leper] made a feast in Karieta. She came to ask Likma for a dowry payment. He gave her a broken gong. She asked him to add a piglet to it. I said, "There is no pig and no dowry here for you. You come all the time asking for dowry payments." So Fuimau said, "Your bride-price payment, a Kolmale moko, is waiting for you; so add a pig to the broken gong." But we did not want to, so she took the broken gong and we all went to Karieta with it. When we got there, there was in truth a Kolmale moko. When we wanted to take it, the chief of Karieta said, "Add a pig." We left the moko there and went away. Then I woke up. [This was probably not a dream but an actual account of the preceding day's activity.]

When we went there, they were cooking pounded corn. That means someone in the house will die. The dream also means that I shall really give Fuimau a dowry payment and get back a bride-price.

[787]

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I dreamed again last night that we went out to weed. I was up the slope and many children were below me. I told them to come up for fear a stone would roll down on them. So they came up the slope and worked. I cooked for them. That evening on the way home a boy chased a bird. I said, "Boys, chase the bird and give it to me." But they did not get it. Then Manipeni saw a rat and caught it. He said, "Mother, here is a rat," and he gave it to me. [Manipeni was the fourteen- or fifteen-year-old, leprous son of her favorite, dead brother, Mailani.] I went up on the verandah and woke up. [784]

The dream of a rat means I will get a stomach-ache. [785]

Again I dreamed. Kolpada called to me, "Mother [classificatory], let us go fetch firewood." I said, "Oh, I'll stay. You and your younger sister, Fuimai [the informant's second daughter], can get wood." So Kolpada and Fuimai set off. I followed after them anyhow. Five of us in all went. I hunted mushrooms and got a basketful. We brought them home and ate them. [This was possibly an actual occurrence instead of a dream.]

A dream about mushrooms is a dream of maggots; that is, a dream of a dead person. The fetching of wood means that someone wants to steal something from me. My not wanting to go means that I shall not want it stolen from me. [787]

I want to talk about the time my elder siblings [classificatory] and I went out to get caterpillars. Fuiakani, Fiyepada, and I went to hunt them.

We climbed a steep stone, and Fiyepada lifted me up by my arm. We spread out mats under an afui tree and shook the branches. The caterpillars fell on our mats and we picked them up one by one, placing them in bamboo tubes. I wanted to pick them up, but I was afraid of them because they were like snakes. Each of the older ones put some in my tube for me. Then we came home and at the water stopped to wash them. We cleaned out their intestines. Then Fuiakani broke off corn in her garden and gave me some. As we got to the foot of the slope, my mother called me from the garden. She said I could come and gather corn, but Fuiakani said she had already given me some, so we went on to the village. On the way home Fuiakani also cut off a bunch of bananas, and she gave each of us a large clump. In the village we roasted the caterpillars and bananas together in a tube. It was like real meat. Mother came home and saw the young corn in my basket. She said, "Have you been stealing people's corn?" I answered, "No. Fuiakani took it from her own garden and gave it to me." Then we divided [252] [253] [254]

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much corn and got five rupiahs, which he saved in a bamboo tube. We carried down six bundles of corn that time. In one trip we made four and a half rupiahs. [This was about 1926, in the height of the boom days.]

January 6, 1939

[Tilapada was very eager to tell this dream, which seemed to be full of emotional significance to her.] I dreamed that my soul was returning from Hatoberka. We were in the ravine below the village. There Mailang and a man from Aila were sleeping [floating] in a pool. Their heads were out of the water, resting on the bank. Lopada [the wife of Mailang], Tilakari [Lopada's eight- or ten-year-old adopted grandchild], Kolaka [Tilapada's daughter, also about ten years old], Likma, and I sat down there by the pool. Then a wild pig came and bit the Aila man, killing him. The pig just nosed Mailang but did not bite him. We climbed up in a tree. Likma and I came down and followed the stream. Lopada and I had rice baskets and rice rolls. Lopada called me to help roll the rice rolls, but as I pulled them out they all broke. When we opened the rice baskets they were all made of white rice. I gave Lopada the broken rice rolls and a rice basket. Lopada had given me two rice rolls and two rice baskets. I gave her back part of a rice roll and a rice basket. Lopada's rice baskets were good, but mine when opened were all loose [i.e., were not packed into a shape]. Then we followed the ravine. I said, "Since the rice rolls and baskets are crumbling, we had better throw them away." Lopada was not willing. I said we had better collect wood to carry back to the village with us. We could not find any, so we went on. Near the government trail we found a little wood. Also Mailang set his dog on a wild pig. We were afraid the pig would bite us, so we rushed on to the government camp. I fetched a small tube of water and came on here. Then my son Maima hit my chest and I awoke. [Tilapada still slept with her son Maima, who was about seven.]

The meaning of this dream is that a big smallpox epidemic will come and the Aila man will die, but Mailang will only be sick, not die. I do not know who the Aila man is. Hunting the pig means that Mailang's familiar spirit [*timang*] was hunting an evil spirit [*kari*] in the forest. Fetching water is a sign that I will receive gongs. Rice baskets and rice rolls are a sign of illness.

[I asked whether she had ever lived through a smallpox epidemic, and she said no. The fear of smallpox was apparently traditional. She

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like me. She would come to fondle my child. I would say to her, "Why do you always come to fondle my child?" It was I who fought with her. She liked me by then. When we fought I said, "If it hadn't been for me, perhaps your husband would not have had any children. We are both women, but you had only one child and it died. How is it that our husband doesn't help me work in the fields? If he wanted to help me, he would care for the child so that I could go work in the fields." My child fell sick, so I went to stay at the Lonwati lineage house with Lakakalieta and Kolkalieta [a maternal uncle and his wife]. I stayed and stayed, until the child was a little better. Then I went to stay with Padakalieta. After that Langmai built a field house in Old Atimelang, and we lived there together.

Before my child was sick Langmai built a field house in Atimelang. Fiyekalieta and Lankalieta came to stay with me there. One day Lankalieta set our house afire [by mistake]. As a result the village burned down. I paid a large pig for the destruction of Kolwati [a lineage house]. For another lineage house I also paid a large pig. I paid for all the large houses. [Compare Tilapada's account, December 26.] When Langmai wanted to make me another field house in Atimelang, the people said, "You have burned the village. If you stay here, you will get sick." We said, "Even if we are sick, we are going to make our house here. This is our village." But we didn't get sick.

While we were living in Atimelang, Langmai was sick and almost died. His first wife, Lonmale, took him to Ruaimasang, but he didn't get well fast. So Lonmale took him to Alurkowati. Padamai took my son, who was still small, to see his father. Langmai wept and wept when he saw his son. Late in the evening Padamai brought the child home. I said, "How is it that you come home when the sun has almost set, and haven't brought the child in a carrying scarf but only in your bare arms?" I was angry with him. After this Langmai was no longer happy in Alurkowati. He thought, "Perhaps I shall die here before seeing my wife and child." Then Langmai moved to Puorkaivi, where there was an empty field house. I was there cutting weeds. I didn't know he was near, and he didn't see the smoke of my fire. That evening I went back to the village. People told me that Langmai and Lonmale were there at Puorkaivi. That night Langmai dreamed. Someone came to him and said, "People who fall from high areca palms must die. However, your medicine is at the root of the eucalyptus tree near Manifula. Go fetch it; pound it up, soak it in water, and drink it. Then you will urinate. In a day or two your body will be as strong as usual."

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[Here she stopped, feeling she had summarized her life. Either she or the interpreter spoke of dreams. I was not quite sure what happened here. I said that dreams, her seer experiences, and the like might be told. She started with her supernatural experiences, but the interpreter again interfered and asked for the preceding night's dreams.] [59X]

Last night I dreamed that Fantan the Interpreter came three times to call me. Then the nonya came, and I gave her young areca nuts. She put two cents in my hand.

One night I slept in a house and many night birds came into the house, very many of them. They were all making a noise. People said, "This surely means something." That day I had helped to feed the familiar spirits of my forebears. I had no familiars of my own, but at that time stone rose in me. There was a person sick in Kaburwa, and people called me because they heard I had become a seer. I sat with the sick person until he was well. After he was well, I returned here. I was raising a pig, which was already half grown. It disappeared. I took bamboo leaves and swept the pig's sleeping place with them. As the sun rose I held up the leaves and looked. I saw two spirits standing in them; one was Fanpeni and one was Padamani. Fanpeni was the familiar of Maleta's father, and Padamani was mine. These two had stolen my pig. Then my female spirit, Lomani, rose in me. I grasped a sword and ran to Watahieng. There was my pig. Fanpeni and Padamani had it. I took it and brought it back to the house at Atibaimanik.* [59X] [756] [787]

In the morning I went with fire to watch my field all day. Letlaka came and asked me for areca. I already knew that Letlaka had a reputation for sleeping with women, so I didn't give him any. Then Letlaka came back one day and said, "If you don't want me, whom do you want to marry?" I said, "Oh, I am just a young child. I know only garden work and getting food." [59X]

Then my uncle said, "If you wish, we can get Kupaifani's Hawetaka moko to pay Padaleti, who is dunning me." [That is, he wished to marry off his niece so that he could meet his debts with her bride-price.] I deceived him, saying, "Oh, good. Get his moko to pay the debt [meaning that she was willing to marry Kupaifani]." After that Kupaifani came to me all the time. So I said to him, "Oh, we two are siblings. We can't marry. You are my true brother because our parents were also siblings. Later you can give a dowry on me and get some of my bride-price to pay back this Hawetaka moko. I shall marry another [58]

* For more about Kolmani's supernatural experiences, see page 539.

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159 died. [Stop. This was the first time the informant was not ready to plunge on. I asked what relationship Lonmau was to her. She was the informant's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, i.e., her "child."]

There was a dance at Alurkowati. I, Fanlang, and many others went. Fanlang had already slept with Lonfani, who was married to Senfani of Alurkowati. In the middle of the night that woman's husband came with a sword and struck Fanlang's shoulder, but Fanlang's familiar spirit was with him. [Familiar spirits were generally supposed to sit [176] on the shoulder.] Blood flowed like water. People lighted torches and looked. They brushed away the blood on Fanlang's shoulder, and there was no wound. There was blood everywhere, but no wound. His shield was split in two. Fanlang's familiar spirit told him, "An Alurkowati man has cut my finger. You must call many people to come." [Stop.] The shield was split, and the owner, from whom Fanlang had borrowed it, litigated. Fanlang paid him a Piki moko. Then he slept again with Lonfani. He slept with Maliemai. Her husband came to litigate. He had to pay twelve tallies' worth, consisting of five pigs, mokos, cloth, and tobacco. [The informant seemed unusually interested in, and [115] indiscreet about, other people's sexual misdemeanors. The interpreter privately expressed disapproval of her conversation.]

April 14, 1939

I dreamed that as my soul returned from Alurkowati, I came to a large, deep pool into which water flowed from a bamboo pipe. I drank from the pool, and as I did I saw my husband breaking off sugar cane. [This she told in a hushed and impressed tone of voice, saying it was a very bad dream. I asked why, and she said that breaking off sugar [178] cane was a sign of cutting a bamboo digging-stick to make a grave. She said that when she awoke she found that her husband felt sick and was still ill. She said, "Now that I have told my dream, shall I tell a myth?" I asked for personal material instead.]

When I was small my mother and father died. I don't remember them. I stayed then with my grandmother, whose death I remember. [134] Then I went to live with different aunts and uncles. [Stop.] I took [168] care of their children until I was old enough to think; then I made gardens. [Stop.] When I was caring for children, I said to my uncle, "If I only care for children, I shall never cultivate a field." So I began one, but he said, "Oh, you mind the children and I will finish your garden." [Stop.] Then he said his back hurt and that I could go out and cut fields with my friends while he minded the baby. He said, "If

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in-law of Langmai's elder brother had died. Langmai's elder brother, Manimai, said, "Who will pound corn?" I said I would, and so I did. [Stop.] After that I went back to our field. 159x

All this time people were moving down from the old Atimelang site to the new one. Then Manimai, my husband's brother, died and his wife, Kolpada, ran off to live with her brothers [instead of coming to Langmai as a second wife]. I spoke to Kolpada and said she had better not go back to her brothers but had better marry Langmai, that being an unmarried woman was not good. At this time Maikalieta came to Langmai to dun him for the price of the big pig that Maikalieta had bought when Langmai's father died. He said that if Langmai would pay him, Langmai could marry Kolpada. [That is, a woman may be released from levirate obligations by a small payment to her husband's siblings, if they wish it. Maikalieta was saying that if Langmai did not pay his debt, then he, Maikalieta, would go to Kolpada's brothers and get them to pay the debt, thereby releasing Kolpada from Langmai.] Langmai did not pay Maikalieta, and so Maikalieta went to Kolpada's brothers and they paid the debt. Then Langmai did not have to marry Kolpada. [787]

April 17, 1939

Last night I dreamed that as people from here set out for a dance, they shouted challenge. Someone ran up to me and wanted to kill me. I saw him coming and pulled out my knife. I struck back at him but did not hit him. Then he struck again at me and almost hit me. I jumped and said, "*Abuabo!*" [An exclamation used when one is startled.] Langmai heard me talking in my sleep, and so did Helangmai, but they did not wake me. In my dream I heard people shout challenge; I was jumping around in my sleep. Finally I kicked the legs of Langmai and Helangmai. I awoke and found myself on my mat. [Stop.]

When I was still small, my elder cousin, Helangmai, was sick. People came to tell me that she was sick, that soldiers had struck her, and that she was nearly dead. [Stop.] I went and she was not any better. People said she had been affected by the spirit of a sacred hearth. I ran back to Folafeng for a chicken to sacrifice to the spirit of the sacred hearth. [Stop.] My elder cousin, when she was struck down with the sacred hearth spirit, went crazy, ripped off her loincloth, and placed it over her breasts. [Stop.] I remained in Folafeng that night. While I was there, Helangmai ran out of the house and stayed out for a long time.

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ravine. [Stop.] There was one very steep place with just lianas and roots. I was afraid, but the others helped me, one in front and one behind. [Stop.] I got to the top and saw that we must follow a steep path to go down again. Those two older girls said we had better go by way of Fankafe, but I didn't want to. I said, "Good, that is also a way to go, but if we meet an enemy, you can run away fast; I am small and cannot." So we went by the other route. At this time my aunt and uncle were clearing weeds for someone at Folafui. As we were climbing, we heard them shouting that an enemy had almost shot them. They took me and ran. If we had done as those two girls wished, we should have met the enemy and been killed, because that was the direction from which the enemy came. [She told this with great vivacity, rolling her eyes and shaking her head, giving one to understand how foresighted she had been.] My aunt, uncle, and I went up by one path. Meanwhile the enemy had gone by another, so they missed us. If we had taken the other route, we should have met them and been killed. However, we didn't meet them, and the enemy went on to Atimelang and shot at the people there. [This was told in the same excited fashion.] We waited below Fepadok until the people from Atimelang chased off the enemy. Then we could go up the slope. [159x]

In three days the Manetati enemy came back at night. There was a dance that night at Atimelang. I was dancing too, and as I danced I fell into a light sleep and dreamed that someone placed dried rice in my hand [a symbol of danger]. My grandmother came and threw it away. I woke up and told what I had dreamed. I said, "Don't dance all night. Stop now. My dream means that you mustn't dance, for the enemy is near." Shortly after this the enemy shot an arrow, but it did not hit anyone. Everyone ran about. The men of Atimelang wanted to follow the enemy even though it was dark. The enemy had placed sharpened bamboo in the trail, and then left by another route. The people of Atimelang ran along the trail. Mauglaka ran into the sharpened bamboo, and it pierced his calf, coming out near his shin bone. He died. [Question.] He died three days later. [Note the dramatic statement, "He died," as though he had been killed immediately by the sharpened bamboo.] [187]

When he was dead, a piece of flooring was taken up and his body was dropped down to the verandah below. They carried his body to a eucalyptus tree, tied it to the tree, and then cut off the head so that his spirit would help them find the enemy. That day they started out to wage war on Manetati. The four other villages were called, and about fifty or sixty men went to fight the enemy. [701]

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X 159 said they had better come fetch me before I married another man. He ordered Langmai to come and stay with me. [Stop.] Langmai's family came to Atibaimanek to stay, but Langmai didn't come with them. I asked why their son had not come. At this time Langmai's father, who was sick, did nothing but sleep. I said, "How is it that your son has not come? You had better go home." Then the old man cried. I was sorry for him and spoke nicely to him, and they stayed on. [Stop.] Lakaseni said we had better cultivate a large field, and if Langmai remembered us he would come to help. Langmai did come to help us. [Stop.] I said to him, "The old man is sick all the time and does nothing but sleep. Is it better for you to go stay with women all the time, or to come and mind the old man?" Then he said, "Those women made my heart bad [*bomi be berka*, meaning to be in love], but now I want to stay here and think only of field work." We all went on with the field work and made all the feasts necessary in cultivating a field. [Stop.] Then Langmai's father got better, and they went back to Old Atimelang. I stayed in Atibaimanek. Langmai said, "Why do you stay here? Who will carry wood for the old people?" I said, "Your heart is still thick [i.e., still has others in it]. Only part of it is mine, and part of it is someone else's. There isn't enough of it for me yet." [Stop.] I said, "You came once and spoke nicely, so I went to stay with you at Maikalieta's house, but your relatives left me alone in the house. Now you come again and talk nicely to me. How do I know?" [Stop.] I said, "I can carry wood once in a while to the old people even while I am living here. And if your heart remembers me once in a while, you can come here to see me." [Stop.]

When Langmai's father was strong, Langmai stayed with me all the time and worked. People began to notice that I was pregnant. I gave birth to Lakaseni [a child who died in its second year]. Then Langmai threw me away again and went to live with his parents in Old Atimelang. [Stop.] When this child could walk, he developed yaws and then diarrhea. From these he died. [Stop.] Then I went to Old Atimelang to live with Langmai.

X 159 Both of us got malaria. Every three days we had attacks. [Stop.]
756 Next a hungry time came. My familiar spirits, Lomani and Kolfani,
● 787 who had come to me when I was still young and before I married, had a sacred hearth at which I fed them. Langmai made poison against my familiars by hanging two plants over their hearth. As I was going along the trail one day, a bird sent by my familiar spirits called to me. When I got home, we were both struck down with fever. [Why had Langmai

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poisoned her spirits?] Every night the spirits rose in me so that I couldn't sleep. I wandered around talking to people and chewing areca with them. Langmai was afraid I might sleep with other men. Langmai got a chicken. I had just one handful of rice left, because it was a hungry time, but we fed the spirits' hearth, and then our illness went away. [Stop.] I told Langmai, "If you don't make me a boat carving, hang it over the hearth of my spirits, and feed them, we shall surely die." He made a boat carving and hung it over the hearth. After we fed it, we were soon well. [Stop.]

When we were strong again, we went to a field and built a house there. The chief of Atimelang came and asked us for our taxes. We didn't pay them, so he hit us both with a rattan switch. Then Maikalieta's wife, Fuimai, said, "Don't beat my brother and my brother's wife." She paid a rupiah on our taxes. [Stop.] At this time we went to stay with Maikalieta. He said we had to pay back his money. So I and Langmai went to gather tamarind fruit; we pitted them and sold them in Kalabahi to pay back that rupiah. When we paid it I said, "I made a field and planted it. I asked Fuimai to weed it, saying we would be partners in the field. We divided the corn. That was to pay back the money we owed her. But now that we have paid the money in cash also, who will give back my corn?" Maikalieta chased us away and said we could not stay there any more. But Fuimai was angry with him and said, "Do my brother and his wife sleep on your lap or arms, that you order them away?" That ended the quarrel and we stayed on. Then one day Langmai and Alurkomai dropped Maikalieta's dog out of the house and it yelped. Maikalieta shouted, "Who is hitting my dog? Are you copulating with it [a very insulting suggestion]?" So they answered, "Who is copulating with the dog? If you want to copulate with it, come on." Maikalieta was angry and said, "You can't stay here. Go away and sleep wherever you wish." It was the rainy season; clouds were hanging low and rain was falling. The two men cried and ran to Maugata in Lawatika. They were all young at the time and were accustomed to play together.

April 25, 1939

Last night I dreamed I went up to Mailang's house in Folafeng. I dreamed I had a small field house near his. I saw people lead two carabaos toward us and tie them to the posts of my house. After a while Mailang and Maikalieta came with another carabao, a black one, and tied it to my house. I asked why they tied three large carabaos to my

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X 159 694 Dikimpe, where the soldiers are now." So Malbata got young bamboo, split it, made a rope, and tied it around Langmai's neck and led him off. As they came near here they met Kapitan Jacob, who was Langmai's Female House. Kapitan Jacob saw them and said, "Who has tied up my Female House relative?" He untied the rope from around Langmai's neck. Then Malbata was afraid and took his case, not to the kapitan, but to the chief of Dikimpe. The chief said to wait a moment because he was going down to the other end of the village. Malbata was afraid the chief would call the soldiers, and he ran away. Then Kapitan Jacob said, "Oh, maybe you are one of the government officials and can tie up your subjects? Now you have let your bride-price go free. Now you can't ask for it any more." [Stop.]

X 159 [I reminded her that I wanted personal anecdotes. She said Yes, and repeated the content of the last few sentences without elaboration.]

When Langmai came back, I said, "You left me and went to stay with your widow. People came and tied you up. They put a rope around your neck. They didn't do that to you when you stayed with me." After that he lived with me, and for a time we stayed at Maikalieta's house again. Then we built the house we are in now and lived together. [Stop.] He said to me, "Kolmani, you stay as you are. Maybe you have become barren." I said, "You speak badly to me. You were the one who said to me that I could eat my own child and be replete. I guess I shall leave you permanently." [Stop.]

Langmai went to the chief and talked with him, saying, "I am alone. My brothers are all dead. My wife does not become pregnant. Perhaps I shall have no children." I too thought within my heart, "I have no family and am alone. Perhaps I shan't have any more children." [She here repeated the insult about eating her child and told how she went at the time to complain of it to her uncle Fanseni and her aunt Maraipada.

X 159 842 She said that at that time her uncle had urged her aunt to give her a contraceptive. The blame for this immoral procedure was thus placed on her uncle and aunt.] So Maraipada gave me some medicine, which I ate. Then I didn't conceive for three years, and during that time my aunt and uncle died. I thought, "My husband is speaking the truth. Neither of us has a family. What shall I do to have children?" So I

X 159 842 went to Maikalieta's second wife, who divined and discovered that the cause of my barrenness was the medicine Maraipada had given me.

● 787 Then she divined to see whether we should feed my aunt's and uncle's souls before using an antidote. [Stop.] I and Lonmobi went to feed the dead people's souls. She too had eaten Maraipada's medicine. As we

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were feeding the souls, my familiar spirit Lomani came. The dead people sent two tiny spiders, which hung down in front of me, and my familiar spirit saw them. I caught them and placed one on the hollow of my throat and one on the hollow of Lonmobi's throat. They were the souls of unborn children, and they entered our bodies. Then my familiar spirit said to Lonmobi, "You will be pregnant first, and then my mother [the informant] will be pregnant." We went to a spring and dammed up a place to make a small pool. We pounded the necessary leaves and tied them on our abdomens with vines. Then we cut the vines and let them fall into the pool. Shortly after that we were both pregnant. Lonmobi's child died. That was the time I bore Maieta [her son, now about fourteen].

April 26, 1939

Last night I dreamed that Maitama and Kolmai [his wife] went to Fungwati. As they came back over Manikameng [a ridge above the village], I saw them carrying a branch of a tree, holding it up in their hands. I asked them, "If that is areca, can we chew it?" They said, "Oh, if we hold this in our hands, our necks will get long. When we peel it, it is slippery." [The informant did not know what this meant.] When we approached their house, we saw that many people were gathered there. We looked back toward Manikameng and it was just hanging in air. [Stop.] I looked behind us and saw there were many albino rats with nice patterns in their fur. Some had no fur on their heads, so that you could see the bare skin. I said, "Those are evil rats; evil spirits are in them. Formerly we were afraid, but now the nonya is here and we are not afraid any more. We shall go tell her to bring her gun, and we shall shoot them." Then I woke up.

What shall I talk about? [I answered that she should talk of whatever entered her mind.]

I gave birth to Kolaka [her daughter, about three years old]. While she was still small, she cried all night long and would not stop. Then Lopada said, "If your child cries all the time, give her the name Kolaka and she will stop." [Stop.] I said to people, "Tell me what kind of a person my mother was. Was she light or dark? [Kolaka had very light skin.] I was still small when she died, and I did not see her." People said she had scabies. That night I dreamed that my mother sat near my feet and that she did indeed have scabies. My mother was tickling my child because she was not named after her. This was why the child cried constantly. I went to Lopada with a chicken, and she said to change the

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came to me. I said, "While you went off to do road work, I gave birth. If my uncle Lâkma had not been here, I should have died. But he took rice and fed the spirits, and so I got well. Now you had better buy that sheep for a death feast so that we may stay well." [Stop.] I said, "Your kin said we had better get a broken gong as a temporary payment for the dead, but I don't want to. We had better buy the sheep. I have already spoken to the owner of a sheep. We had better give him something to eat first and then go fetch it. Later we can pay for it." [Stop.] We brought the sheep here. The owner came asking for pigs all the time and I gave him many. When the time came to pay for the sheep, we gave only a Kolmale moko in addition. Langmai wanted to cut a large new field before killing the sheep, but I said, "No, we must do it now or we shall all be sick all the time." [Stop.] At this time I was feeding the sheep constantly, but its body became thin anyhow. That was because we did not know who were our Male House kin. I, Lonmobi, and Fuimau searched for our Male House and learned who they were.

[Here Kolmani went into the details of the death feast involving the sacrifice of a sheep, which she and her husband had just completed. She came two more days but could not be diverted from ethnographic descriptions. The series of autobiographical sessions was therefore discontinued.]

KOLMANI'S SUPERNATURAL EXPERIENCES

[In connection with material on seers Kolmani gave some accounts of the supernatural experiences that led to her acquisition of familiar spirits. These were given in fragmentary form and have been synthesized here.]

My mother and her great-uncle [her father's father's brother] were seers. When my mother died, her familiar spirits all went to her great-uncle. When I was young, I was sick a great deal. Whenever I was ill, I sacrificed a chicken and rice to his spirit altar, and then in five or six days I would be well again. One night a flock of night birds came to me, and my soul disappeared. (See page 503.)

We all sat up all night. I don't remember what I did or said, but people told me that spirits spoke through my mouth. There were four of them. They sat on my shoulder and spoke through me. I don't know what they were like. I never really saw them. It is as though wind were passing by; but they can turn themselves into snakes and different kinds of birds. People told me that my familiar spirit Lomani said, "Oh, mother and father, I went to you. Your hands were level and your laps were level [i.e., they were good parents]. As I sat on your hands and